Median days worked were: 16 in Peshawar (slightly lower in Hayatabad), 10.5 in Quetta (slightly higher in Satellite Town but a disastrous 3 in Meezan Chowk) and 10 in the small towns (15 in Mansehra but 8.5 in Kohat). These figures reflect differences in local economic conditions; Peshawar is well known to be experiencing a building boom, but Mardan has also recently seen increased construction employment, while Kohat has a high catchment population of refugees for relatively low economic opportunities. Mansehra had the highest figure for any of the small towns, despite it being apparently in a slack season.

However the figures must also be compared to a median of 15 obtained from asking similar questions to casual labourers in the course of a household survey of refugees throughout NWFP, with little camp-wise variation. It may be that booming local economies can support this level of employment for casual labourers both through hiring points and direct means, while in less economically active areas the hiring points attract a distinct group of workers, lacking more regular connections. It is likely that some of these points, such as Meezan Chowk, are visited as much for social reasons as in any serious hope of getting work, which is supported by the large numbers of men to be observed standing there, long after any hiring has been done.

Certain cross tabulations were performed to see what factors identifiably affected a man's chances of finding work. The first factor considered was the time of the interview, in case the survey, by continuing at the hiring points after real hiring had ended, was inadvertently bringing the figures down. In Peshawar this was not a factor, but in Quetta and the small towns it does seem as if some of the earlier time-cohorts had slightly better chances. In both samples the overall chances of finding work on a given day were 30-40%, but earlier time-cohorts scored 40-50% in the small towns, and 50-60% in Quetta.

Even in Quetta where there was most ethnic diversity in the sample, this scarcely correlated with success in finding work; Uzbeks were slightly more successful than the average, Tajiks slightly less so, but probably not significantly in either case. Pakistanis also appeared to have slightly better chances of finding work than Afghans, but the samples were probably too small to judge this properly.

No pattern of better chances being determined by age could be discerned; numbers of job-seekers above what could be considered working age, fifty, were anyway very few. Insufficient job-seekers had skills to see if this increased their chances of getting work, and no pattern was discernible in year of arrival. Although overall chances of finding work as quoted above might be raised slightly to compensate for bias against those who left early having found work, it would seem that labourers at a hiring point are a fairly undifferentiated mass when it comes to their chances of finding work.

4.3 Type of Work

The great majority of men (including all the men in the small towns of NWFP) had done nothing except general unskilled labour in the last month. Although this was not specified, in urban areas this generally means construction work. In Peshawar two Pakistanis and eighteen Afghans had done some other work in the last month, the most common categories being brick-making, loading trucks and masonry. Nearly all of these men were found at the Spin Jumaat hiring point. A few men in Quetta had done similar sorts of specialized work. In very few cases, however, were men only engaged in these sorts of work; they had done these tasks for a few days and usually general labour on some other days, and men who had worked at other tasks seemed no more successful in getting work. The fact that men had done some other work does not detract from the primary function of the hiring points; as markets for general unskilled labour.

4.4 Months without Work and Long-Term Trends

A question "how many months out of the last twelve did you do no paid work?" was originally intended to explore the seasonality, if any, of the labour market. Although responses did confirm some of what was known - that the Quetta market largely shuts down in winter, and that the Peshawar market suffers little or no seasonal effect - they also showed the vulnerability of casual labourers and their families to prolonged illness. Responses were probably too exaggerated to be of much quantitative use, but showed that significant numbers of workers went whole months without work, largely because of illness, but also for other reasons or no particular reason. A few men in Quetta were too young or too old for work, and men in the small towns mentioned both winter and summer as slack seasons. Interestingly, jihad was only mentioned in a handful of cases, and periods spent on jihad were not long; the idea that an obligation to go on jihad pushes Afgans towards casual work rather than steady jobs is not supported by this data.

All respondents, with the exception of five Afghans and one Pakistani at Spin Jumaat, Peshawar, reported that finding work was becoming more difficult.

4.5 Wages

The daily wage appeared to be fairly standard, at least as concerned each hiring point.

Daily Wage (Rs)	PWR	QTA	NWFP
30	0	4	0
35	0	1	25
40	50	7	46
45	24	3	3
50	5	71	61
60	2	4	4
70	1	0	0
80	6	1	0
90	1	0	0
100	1	0	0
120	0	1	0
No Response	0	2	0
Total	90	94	139

In Peshawar workers at Spin Jumaat seemed to expect either Rs 40 or Rs 45, while the going rate was Rs 40 in Hayatabad and Rs 45 in Saddar. In Quetta most workers expected Rs 50; in NWFP the rates were Rs 35 in Mardan, Rs 40 in Kohat and Rs 50 in Haripur and Mansehra. At nearly all the points a few workers gave lower (or more often) higher figures, the latter being principally the skilled workers.

Some workers had, for a few days in the month, worked for higher wages than what they cited as their normal rate. This was the case with over half the Afghan job-seekers at Spin Jumaat, who reported daily rates of between Rs 45 and Rs 165 on at least one day in the last month, but there was only one other Afghan case (and three Pakistani cases) elsewhere in Peshawar. In Quetta 17 of the 94 Afghans had worked for more than the basic rate at some time in the last month, almost all at Satellite Town and Jail Road. In NWFP there were 13 cases at Mansehra, 12 at Haripur, and 14 among the Pakistanis. The maximum in either Quetta or the small towns was Rs 80. Rates higher than the basic rate could be paid to some skilled individuals, but equally to general labourers hired for particular jobs such as heavy loading work. Such payment by task rather than

by the day is what is normally referred to as the contract system. Although rewards are higher, for the fit, a few men associated the system with employers reneging on their agreements, or with wages paid intermittently, so that finding money for living expenses was difficult. Answers on both the regular wage and the occasional higher wages suggest that in some towns and at some hiring points within towns there are ceiling wage rates above which virtually no-one is hired, while other hiring points afford greater opportunities for work at above the going rate.

Nearly all workers, however, incurred a few rupees of expenses in connection with their daily work. Transport expenses averaged over Rs 3/day in Quetta and NWFP, just under Rs 2.5/day in Peshawar. The cost of eating away from home (which was probably exaggerated) averaged around Rs 9 in Quetta, Rs 8 in NWFP and Rs 6 in Peshawar. Other directly work-related expenditure averaged around Rs 1 in Peshawar and NWFP, but over Rs 4 in Quetta. Median net basic wages (i.e. the 'usual daily wage' minus the individual's claimed work-related expenses) were Rs 33 in Peshawar, Rs 34 in NWFP and Rs 40 in Quetta. While expenses have probably been exaggerated, these figures indicate that the amount available to labourers to feed their families is very small. It should also be taken into consideration that transport expenses in particular have to be paid even if a man does not find work.

Workers were asked what wages they had been receiving twelve months previously. Answers to this question varied more than answers on current wages, probably simply because of the recall period and fallible memories. Modal values were Rs 40/day at Spin Jumaat and Rs 35 at the other two Peshawar hiring points, Rs 40 at all the points in Quetta, Rs 25 in Mardan, Rs 35 in Kohat and Mansehra and Rs 50 in Haripur. Something of the same effect (at the same hiring points) was observed as with current wages; some hiring points had clearly defined wage ceilings, while others (Mansehra, Spin Jumaat, Satellite Town and Jail Road), showed a greater spread of higher wages.

4.6 Labour Gangs and Sub-contracting

Questions were asked to explore whether men sought work purely as individuals, through ready-formed gangs, or through a sub-contractor. Probably we do not know enough about the process of looking for work, the manner in which contractors operate, or the numbers of men who bypass hiring points, for this question to have been effective, but some interesting results nevertheless emerged. 17 of the 90 Afghans in Peshawar (11 at Spin Jumaat and 6 at Saddar; 19% overall) were looking for work in groups. In the rest of NWFP 42 out of 138 Afghans (30%), almost all in Kohat and Mansehra, were in groups, while in Quetta only 8 out of 94 Afghans (9%) were in groups. Groups were formed on the basis of residence, kinship or friendship: men who had been working in brick-kilns mentioned the groups as important for sharing costs when away from

home, for mutual defence and mutual assistance during illness. While men may have come to the hiring points in groups, it is unlikely that this would have prevented group members taking work individually. The hiring point is essentially a venue for individual hire. In only two cases did Afghans admit to working through sub-contractors, and all but two Pakistanis looked for work as individuals.

4.7 Tools

The great majority of workers at all hiring points possessed no tools connected with their work. Only 9 Afghans and 2 Pakistanis in Peshawar, and 2 Afghans and one Pakistani in Quetta, possessed any tools, and in all but two cases these men had some specific skill such as masonry.

5 Workers and their families

The days worked and wages earned by casual labourers are significant in the context of overall household size and numbers of earners per household. Household size is a very difficult concept to operationalize in surveys, and it could be expected that men at hiring points, away from home, would adopt very inclusive definitions.

Household Size	PWR	QTA	NWFP
Minimum	5	1	3
Median	9	8	9
Maximum	35	33	18

The median figures are of the same order as average household sizes for Afghans in other surveys using male respondents. Household sizes reported by Pakistani job-seekers were somewhat smaller in Peshawar and NWFP, somewhat larger in Quetta where a certain number of very small Afghan families, and single men whose families were in Afghanistan, were reported.

Workers were asked how many other members of their families were earning an income. The following figures include the respondent himself.

Earners per household	Workers reporting		
	PWR	QTA	NWFP
1	63	59	120
2	26	29	14
3	1	3	5
4	-	1	-
5	-	-	-
6	-	2	-
Total	90	94	139

The mean number of earners reported per household was 1.31 in Peshawar, 1.51 in Quetta and 1.17 in NWFP. These figures are of the same order as that obtained in a recent household survey in camps; 1.22 in NWFP. The majority of earners other than respondents were similarly engaged in casual labour, although others had regular jobs, and some had migrated, e.g. to Karachi.

6. Conclusion

These surveys were originally undertaken to supplement camp-based surveys by looking with a different methodology at what was believed to be the most common form of work among refugees. The initial assumption was that hiring points were the major mechanism for hiring casual labour. The Peshawar survey, with its median 16 days work per month, and job-seekers seemingly representative of the local refugee camps, seemed to support this view, and offer us confirmation of the sort of income levels among refugees we were learning of from other sources.

During the Quetta survey, however, the interviewers made clear that we were looking at a very particular sub-sector of the casual labour market, one more or less defined by its lack of opportunity. The real action was taking place elsewhere, namely on the construction sites to which the same workers reported day after day. In 3 of the 4 hiring points in NWFP, the same comments seemed to apply; it is hard to believe that Rs 340 (Rs 40 earned on an average of 8.5 days per month) is any sort of average income for workers around Kohat.

Analysis of the results confirms that the hiring points of Quetta and the small towns in NWFP were not representative, but this

unrepresentativeness in itself is interesting. By year of arrival, by province of origin in Afghanistan, and to some extent by ethnicity, workers at hiring points seemed to be marginal to the mass of the refugee community. The most likely hypothesis is that these hiring points are the last resort for those who by their later arrival or their origins outside the core Pushtun provinces lack the connections to get more regular work. Even if this is not a fair characterization, the mix of men at hiring points is certainly 'lumpy' rather than a smooth mix representative of nearby camps. Extreme proof of this comes from Swabi, where no Afghans were found at the main hiring point. The presence of quasi-regular Afghan workers at the nearby vegetable market, and the reputed involvement of Afghans at the nearby Gadoon Amazai Industrial Estate, suggest that Afghans have no need for this particular hiring point, even if there is an element of Pakistanis 'defending' it against them.

We were unable to test whether workers found on building sites differ significantly from those at hiring points in their success in finding work, or their mechanisms for finding it. We can assume that, because hiring points are not representative of camp-resident refugees, they are unrepresentative of the casual labour sector. However it is likely, drawing on other sources, that casual labour opportunities in general are still severely constrained, and that the median figure for Peshawar of 16 days worked per month is substantially true even for those who can bypass the hiring points.

Some more general conclusions can be drawn. Firstly the studies point to considerable numbers of Afghans on extremely low incomes. Even if such people are not 'representative', their existence has policy implications, especially given the absence of mechanisms for targetting assistance to them. Secondly the studies show the extent of geographical variation in economic opportunities; the greater chances available in Peshawar and Mansehra relative to Quetta and Kohat. As well as a variation in availability of work and basic wage levels, some hiring points allow a greater opportunity for workers to earn extra sums through skilled work or specific contracts. Thirdly, perhaps obviously, the search for work is a full-time occupation; job-seekers offer themselves for work every working day. If anything interrupts this search for work, it is likely to be illness or seasonal closure of the labour market rather than jihad service or lack of commitment to work. These factors should also be taken into account when assessing just how vulnerable this substantial group of workers is.

Acknowledgements

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AFGHAN REFUGEES AS CASUAL LABOURERS:
a report on hiring point surveys in Peshawar, Quetta and some towns of NWFP

1 Introduction

It has been widely reported that unskilled casual labour is the most important mode of livelihood for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In order to find out more about the casual labour market a series of small surveys were organized in Peshawar, Quetta and some towns of NWFP between August 1991 and January 1992. The method used was a survey of the recognized hiring points in each town, the places in which prospective labourers wait to be hired. A short questionnaire was devised which was administered to a rough sample of labourers at each point, starting very early in the morning. Conditions at the hiring points made random sampling impossible, but enumerators were asked to try and interview a variety of labourers in terms of age and ethnicity, and to interview a few Pakistanis. This latter measure was adopted partly to provide data for comparison, and partly to allay Afghan fears that they were being singled out for attention. Interviewers were Afghan in Peshawar, Pakistani in the small towns, and mixed in Quetta.

Interviews were conducted as follows:

Place	Date	Afghans	Pakistanis	Total
Peshawar	04.08.91			
Spin Jumaat		38	2	40
Hayatabad		31	9	40
Saddar		21	19	40
Total		90	30	120
Quetta	26.08.91			
Sariab Road		20	0	20
Meezan Chowk		17*	5	22
Satellite Town		40	0	40
Jail Road		17	3	20
		94	8	102
Mansehra	19.01.92	40	4	44
Haripur	20.01.92	36	5	41
Swabi	21.01.92	0	4	4
Mardan	22.01.92	25	15	40
Kohat	23.01.92	38	2	40

* includes one Afghan who admitted having obtained Pakistani nationality

At Swabi, only Pakistanis were found at the hiring point. Some Afghans employed on a quasi-regular basis at a nearby vegetable market were interviewed, but this data has not been aggregated with data from hiring points.

2 The Hiring Points

In Peshawar the teams visited three hiring points: Bara Gate in Saddar, Spin Jumaat in University Town, and Hayatabad Super Market. The proportion of Afghans among job seekers at the three points, at various times of the morning, was between 60 and 90 percent. By a series of very rough estimates it is likely that a total of 300 men were hired that day from the three points, of whom around 250 were Afghans.

Estimates of total numbers involved were only made at two of the four hiring points in Quetta. At Jail Road about 70 men turned up to look for work, of whom 15-20 were Pakistanis. In Satellite Town the maximum number present was 70-80, of whom 75% were Afghans. In Quetta more than elsewhere, interviewers felt that labourers at the hiring points were not representative of casual labourers in general, as greater numbers were going direct to construction sites where they had ongoing employment.

The total number of men who presented themselves for hire at Shinkiari Chowk, the main hiring point in Mansehra, was around 150, of whom about 90 percent were Afghan. This was the one location visited during what was clearly a slack season, the cold Mansehra winter; labourers themselves knew they had very little chance of finding work, (but had nothing better to do than come on the off-chance). Only around 20 percent seemed to get jobs.

At Loharanwala Gate, Haripur, around 200 men presented themselves, around 90% being Afghan. At Parhoti Chowk, Mardan, about 160 men came for hire, of whom only 40% were Afghan. In this case the interviewers noted that many contractors were going directly to the camps. At KDA Chowk Kohat, 110-120 men presented themselves for hire, of whom 10 percent or less were Pakistani.

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3 The Job-Seekers

Most data on the characteristics of prospective workers at the hiring points will be presented in tabular form for Afghans only. Data on Pakistanis, where significantly different, will be highlighted in the text. The smaller towns of NWFP will also be aggregated in the tables, but significant differences will be mentioned in the text.

3.1 Age

AGE	PWR	QTA	NWFP
<16	3	2	0
16-19	9	7	11
20-24	22	13	22
25-29	23	20	23
30-34	10	22	21
35-39	8	7	19
40-44	8	8	12
45-49	4	10	7
50-54	1	3	11
55-59	0	1	7
>60	2	1	6
TOTAL	90	94	139

The median ages are in the range 25-29 in Peshawar and 30-34 elsewhere. Within the smaller towns, Mansehra also has a younger workforce, but in general these towns are characterized by a larger proportion of older men. Pakistani job-seekers seemed generally to have a narrower age range, around a slightly older average.

3.2 Province of Origin

Province	PWR	QTA	NWFP
Nangarhar	63	0	32
Kabul	8	0	11
Laghman	7	0	26
Kunar	3	0	2
Logar	0	0	2
Paktia	0	1	13
Ghazni	0	3	0
Wardak	0	0	1
Takhar	0	9	0
Kunduz	2	52	24
Baghlan	5	9	21
Samangan	0	0	1
Balkh	0	8	0
Jowzjan	0	1	0
Faryab	0	1	0
Helmand	0	3	0
Kandahar	0	6	0
No response/ unclear	2	1	6
TOTAL	90	94	139

These results show that the composition of workers at hiring points is not merely a function of the make-up of the local refugee population. Men from Kunduz and Baghlan are seen in disproportionate numbers in Quetta, Haripur and Mardan, and in Quetta are joined by other northerners, though these are not all 'minorities' in the sense of being non-Pushtuns. The core Pushtun provinces of Paktia and Nangarhar do show up in Peshawar and the small towns of NWFP, but Kandahar and Helmand account for less than 10% of the Quetta sample as compared to 62% of the refugee population in Balochistan in the 1988 Origins Survey. In the Quetta case this may reflect the settled refugee population of Quetta as opposed to the camps; in NWFP it may be that northerners gravitate to hiring points for lack of the better connections of men from the core provinces. The hiring points are in any case often dominated by particular groups: Laghmanis in Mansehra, Baghlanis in Haripur, Kunduzis in Mardan and Nangarharis in Kohat.

3.3 Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	PWR	QTA	NWFP
Pushtun	61	49	109
Arab etc.	15	0	3
Tajik	8	27	15
Uzbek	0	15	1
Turkman	0	2	0
Hazara	0	1	0
Baloch	3	0	2
Nuristani	0	0	1
Other/no response	3	0	8
Total	90	94	139

The high proportion of non-Pushtuns in Quetta is consistent with the high number of men from the northern provinces (though some northerners are Pushtuns) and further supports the idea that we are looking mainly at the discrete community of urban and peri-urban refugees in Quetta, rather than a group representative of the Balochistan camp population. The high proportion of non-Pushtuns in the former has been noted by many sources. The high proportion of Arabs in the Peshawar sample and Tajiks in the small towns of NWFP is interesting; again this may represent ethnic minorities gravitating to hiring points by default of better connections.

3.3 Year of Arrival

Year	PWR	QTA	NWFP
1977	0	1	0
1978	0	2	2
1979	21	1	11
1980	7	0	19
1981	11	2	10
1982	9	6	19
1983	13	11	15
1984	10	11	28
1985	11	23	13
1986	4	14	13
1987	2	7	3
1988	1	9	0
1989	0	2	0
1990	0	1	0
1991	0	4	0
U/clr	1	0	6
Total	90	94	139

Median year of arrival was 1982 in Peshawar, 1983 in the rest of NWFP, and 1985 in Quetta. Again, the figures in NWFP and Quetta would appear to differentiate our sample from the refugee population in the camps, and suggest that it is (relatively) late arrivals who are drawn to this particular labour market.

3.4 Registration and Camp Residence

Obtaining accurate information on registration is always difficult, as respondents may feel there are benefits in claiming unregistered status. The NWFP towns showed a rate of registration consistent with recent household surveys, Peshawar a surprisingly low rate of registration (but consistent with the large numbers of refugees not resident in camps), and Quetta a very low rate of registration, supporting the thesis that the sample represents a population very different from that in the camps.

	PWR	QTA	NWFP
Registered	41 (46%)	22 (23%)	107 (78%)
Unregistered	49 (54%)	72 (77%)	31 (22%)

We also asked what camp Afghan workers had gone to on first coming to Pakistan. 17 men (19%) in Peshawar claimed never to have settled in a camp. Those that had were almost all still living there, specifically:

35 in Nasir Bagh,
20 in Kacha Garhi
7 in Munda and
1 each in Ekka Ghund, Shamsatoo and Thall.

25 men (27%) were living outside camps, notably in Batatel, and 8 had moved out after settling in Nasir Bagh, Kacha Garhi or Shindand. Of those living in camps 16 in Nasir Bagh, 6 in Kacha Garhi, and one each in Munda and Thall were unregistered. It was in Saddar, rather than the other two hiring points where the unregistered and the non-camp registered were concentrated.

39 men (41%) in Quetta claimed never to have settled in a camp. 5 had first settled in camps of NWFP, and 5 in Mianwali District. The others had settled in various camps of Balochistan. 2 were still registered in NWFP and 4 in Mianwali. Only 17 claimed to be resident, even 'sometimes' in camps, specifically;

2 in Girdi Jungle
1 each in Pir Alizai, Saranan and Kila Abdulla
2 in Jaggi Farakhi and 1 in Zar Karez
7 in Muhammad Khail
1 in Kot Chandna and 1 in Zarinoor (S.Waziristan)

A few men were registered in camps (including the Mianwali camps) but no longer claimed to live there; this being the reverse of the Peshawar case where unregistered men were living in the camps.

Afghan labourers in the smaller towns nearly all first settled and were resident in nearby camps, the most important being Bareri for Mansehra, Panian for Haripur, Baghicha for Mardan, and Gamkol for

Kohat. Only 12 (9%) were not resident in the camps. The biggest single group of the unregistered was in Shaikhabad camp near Mansehra. Nowhere in any of the samples was there a discernible pattern of men leaving their families in camps while they moved elsewhere.

To sum up, Peshawar had a number of men who had never been camp-resident, a small group who had left the camps, and a further group camp-resident but unregistered. Those in the small towns were mainly camp-resident and registered, while in Quetta, there was a large core group who had never been camp-resident, joined by men, registered and otherwise, from camps around the country.

3.5 Education and Skills

Educational level	PWR	QTA	NWFP
No education	68 (76%)	76 (81%)	109 (78%)
Primary	14 (16%)	15 (16%)	11 (8%)
Higher than primary	8 (9%)	3 (3%)	19 (14%)

As could be expected, the casual labourers were predominantly uneducated, though a handful of Afghans with college or similar education were found; this mismatch of the highly educated to unskilled work has been noted before in the refugee population. Pakistani labourers were slightly less likely still to be educated.

Marketable skills were very rare. In Peshawar 8 Afghans (and one Pakistani) had marketable manual skills, and in Quetta the same numbers, masons being the most important category. In the small towns no Afghan (and only two Pakistanis) reported such skills.

4 Looking for Work, and Working

4.1 Days of Attendance

Job seekers were asked how many days they had presented themesIves for hire in the last four weeks. Despite the form of the question, answers of '30 days' and 'everyday' were received. The latter has been coded as 28, the former as 24 (allowing for no hiring on Fridays). The conclusion is in any case clear, that for the great majority the search for work is more or less a full-time occupation. This is also true of Pakistani job-seekers

DAYS PRESENTED FOR HIRE	PWR	QTA	NWFP
<10	3	9	6
10-14	2	3	0
15-19	3	5	0
20-24	21	5	77
25 or more	61	72	56
TOTAL	90	94	139

Those who had come to the hiring point on fewer than twenty days were asked why not: sickness was the most important reason in Peshawar (one man had also been on jihad), but in Quetta two of the eighteen men asked had been in refugee camps, and eight 'elsewhere'.

4.2 Days Hired

If searching for work was a full-time occupation, working was not.

DAYS HIRED	PWR	QTA	NWFP
<10	20	32	51
10-14	19	27	47
15-19	22	16	36
20-24	20	12	5
25 or more	9	7	0
TOTAL	90	94	139

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SUMMARY

During mid-1991 and early 1992, 323 Afghan men and 68 Pakistanis were interviewed as they stood at recognized hiring points for casual manual labour in Peshawar, Quetta and five district towns of NWFP. The Afghans were from 17 of Afghanistan's provinces, but men from the north of Afghanistan, and non-Pushtuns, were over-represented relative to what is known of the camp-resident refugee population. Average year of arrival in Pakistan was also slightly later than that usually found in camps. Questions on registration and residence suggest that the Peshawar sample was mainly drawn from nearby camps, with a certain number of urbanized and unregistered refugees. Respondents in other towns of NWFP were mainly resident and registered in nearby camps but not representative of those camps, while those in Quetta were drawn from the urbanized refugee population there, without strong links to camps. Overall, with the possible exception of Peshawar, refugees probably gravitate to hiring points because they are in various ways marginal and lack the connections necessary for more permanent employment.

Refugees (and Pakistanis) at hiring points were overwhelmingly uneducated and lacking in marketable skills, but this is a feature of the refugee population as a whole. Most of the work done was casual unskilled labour in the construction industry.

The great majority of job-seekers were making themselves available for work virtually full-time; sickness was the most important reason for men not presenting themselves more often. Sickness and seasonal closure of labour markets were also the main reasons for men reporting whole months without work. Men found work on average less than half the time, and this varied significantly between locations; the average was 16 days per month in Peshawar, 15 in Mansehra, 10.5 in Quetta, 10 in Haripur and Mansehra and 8.5 in Kohat. Numbers of days worked did not vary significantly by age or ethnicity. In Quetta and the small towns those interviewed earlier in the day were slightly more successful, so our figures may be slightly biased towards the less successful.

There was a basic daily wage rate at each hiring point, varying between Rs 35 in Mardan and Rs 50 in Haripur, Mansehra and Quetta. At some hiring points there was a market for skilled work, or for workers performing specific tasks ('contracts'), for both of which remuneration was greater. The basic wage, however, was paid on most of the days worked. Most workers reported daily expenses directly related to work of between Rs 5 and Rs 10 per day.

The average reported size of workers' families was 8 in Quetta and 9 in Peshawar and the small towns. The average household had 1.2 earning members in the small towns, 1.3 in Peshawar and 1.5 in Quetta.